796 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

● 536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

533 modate the new ideology. The most notable example is Yüan Chang-ching's rearrangement of "The Water of the Chang River," describing the life of three girls in a North China village and depicting "the betterment of women's lot under the Communist regime."

F. Drama

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Stage plays in China can be roughly divided into four kinds: (1) folk plays native to small dialectal districts, (2) ching-hsi, or p'i-huang (Peking opera) which is appreciated in all parts of China proper, but particularly in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai, and in big cities of other regions, (3) the new opera, a genre created by the Chinese Communists, and (4) the modern play. These together with motion pictures, are now utilized by the Communists to disseminate ideological and political messages.

1. The folk plays.

Pang-tzu is the most prevalent of all folk plays in North China. It can be found in nearly all the counties along the shores of the Yellow River. It is so called because the rhythms of its music are marked by the beats of a foot-long wooden stick which in North China is called pang-tzu.

P'ing-chü, also called peng-peng-hsi,

536 originated in Tangshan and Luan hsien in Hopei Province. In recent decades its influence has reached cities like Nanking and Shanghai in East China. It often portrays love stories in a most vulgar manner and its is most enthusiastically received by the workers in the cities and mining centers. The Communists have tried to suppress the obscene and vulgar aspects of the peng-peng-hsi and to substitute a political message.

Other folk plays are even more localized, and the difference between them is, for the most part, due to the difference in dialects. All the folk plays borrow stories from each other, and therefore the same folk stories in North China are presented in different versions in different localities.

2. Ching-hsi

A composite of many regional plays, ching-hsi is popular in all parts of China. The best actors and actresses of ching-hsi, however, have been those associated with the Peking theaters. Shanghai, because of its wealth, has also been able to invite the best actors and actresses to its theaters from North China. The musical accompaniment is carried by the hu-ch'in, a string instrument, assisted by other strings and by wood-winds. Percussion is used to accentuate rhythms of body movements and to dramatize heightened moments.

536 At its present state, ching-hsi is a highly polished form of art. It no longer depends for audience appeal on plotting but rather on a display of skill by the actors or actresses. It emphasizes costuming rather than scenery. The verses sung serve to express the feelings of the chief characters. Actors may play the female roles and actresses may play male roles. The musical pattern is not very flexible but permits the well-known actors or actresses to vary the style at will. The spoken dialogue and the spoken patter, consisting of clichés in colloquial language, help the movement of the play, make the literary language of the sung verses more intelligible to the audience, and aid in the variation of rhythm. However, most of the spectators know the play, have memorized the verses, and can sing some of them. They came to the theater to watch and enjoy the art of a stylized performance.

In comparison with the folk plays, the ching-hsi is a much more integrated art. Therefore, it is more difficult to bring innovations to the ching-hsi without damaging its accepted form; in contrast, the folk plays may easily incorporate new elements. This fact accounts for the Communists' effort to revamp the folk plays and to bring them up to the same level of popular and artistic recognition as the ching-hsi. However, in the Communists' effort to reinterpret history, the ching-hsi is at present rendering unique service. The Communists have not only revised many of the

old scripts to conform to their ideology, but have also encouraged new scripts to be written. In this attempt, well-known actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu are asked to lend a helping hand.

Playwrights in Communist China are now told to study ching-hsi, because this form can be used to dramatize personalities. In the Communists' effort to glorify the image of the "new heroes," this art is considered extremely important.

3. The New Opera. The new opera in China is modeled after the operatic forms of the West but the content conveys revolutionary themes. The first experiment in this form was the White-haired Girl (1944), a collective creation of the writers and artists of the Lu Hsün Institute of Literature and Art. In the arias sung by the heroine, the musical pattern of the Hopei pang-tzu is borrowed to convey her changing moods. This is considered a very successful adaptation by the Communists. But the melodies of the other parts, which appear to be of yang-ko origin, are close to folk songs and lack dramatic effect. The White-haired Girl has been characterized as "drama-plus-song," a term which indicates that the operatic form is not well enough developed to enable the music to carry the theme.

This inadequacy was remedied in the

536 second major opera commissioned by the Communists. The opera Liu Hu-lan gives the heroine Liu Hu-lan opportunities "to delineate her heroic personality" in longer and more frequent arias. The musical pattern of the Shansi pang-tzu is used in the arias, and the whole opera has a Shansi color.

The composers were alarmed when they discovered that audiences were humming the melodies which describe the corrupt life of the landlord in the opera The White-haired Girl rather than the arias of the heroine and the chorus of the 8th Route Army. They resolved not to give the "negative" personality strong musicalization. As a result, the opera Liu Hu-lan incorporates queer and disjointed melodies for the villainous roles, and the villains are shallow caricatures. Thus, for ideological reasons, the Communists now limit "true music" to the expression of "lofty passions" for the "right cause."

The new operas are intended for national consumption irrespective of regional difference, although local airs are incorporated into the scores according to the locality of the stories. Both The White-haired Girl and Liu Hu-lan are based on incidents which occurred in North China, although they have been transformed by grossly "dramatic" exaggerations. They are performed by opera troupes all over China, and their influence is therefore national. Other well-known operas include the Long March, in which Mao Tse-tung is impersonated

536 for the first time.

4. Modern play (hua-chü). The modern play, like the motion pictures, has no regional character. Any acceptable play will be staged in all parts of China, and kuo-yü (national language) is used rather than the various dialects. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung's Thousands of Rivers and Mountains proves that the Communists' Long March in the thirties is always "correct" material for dramatization. The Song of the Red Flags, concerned with production drives in a textile factory in North China was a collective creation of three playwrights, written after they had agreed on the ideological significance of this type of play and had sketched out the plot under the"guidance" of Chou Yang, the Vice-minister of Cultural Affairs. The Song of the Red Flags was performed in Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, Chungking, Lanchou and other big cities. In Shanghai alone, it had 159 performances, and some 125,000 people attended it.[20] If we take into account the fact that theater-going is now an organized activity of the various mass organizations such as the labor unions, the Women's Federation, the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the study circles, the length of the run and the size of the audience do not accurately reflect the enthusiasm of the people but rather the effectiveness of Communist organization of mass participation in the

20. People's Pictorial [Jen-min Hua-pao], Peking, July 1950.

536 field of recreation. Lao She's play Lung-hsü Kou which was long awaited, and which describes the workers of Peking in improving the sanitation of their living quarters behind the Temple of Heaven, is considerably better written than most recent plays.

5. Motion Pictures

546 While Peking decides the policy, Shanghai and Mukden are now the centers of China's motion picture industry. The White-haired Girl, a film based on the opera, won the first prize among the thirty-eight entries at the Communist International Motion-picture Festival in Czechoslovakia in 1951. The Concentration Camp at Shang-jao, which was made in 1951, describes the life of the "patriotic people" in the Kuomintang concentration camp, and, according to the Communist reviewers, successfully "demonstrates the collective heroism" of the Communists under duress, When the rural production drive was about to begin in 1954, the film Good Harvest was timed to be shown to the peasants during the festivities of the lunar New Year in order to emphasize the importance of increasing the output of the land. The People on the Grassland is a movie about the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Sound tracks in the Mogol and Uigur languages have been made so that this picture may be circulated among the ethnic minorities.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

G. Narrative and Song Recitations

545 Public entertainment in North China also includes narrative and song recitations with percussion and string accompaniment. This is called ku-tz'u or ch'ü-i. Since they are informally staged, they are more adaptable to new content, and the singer or narrator is free to give his own version of the moral of the story. Most of the singers and narrators obtain their stories and verses from old novels. Now the Chinese Communists have encouraged them to use the new novels, such as Brother and Sister in Land-clearing and the Marriage of Hsiao-erh-hei, and they are encouraged to compose their own texts. Han Ch'i-hsiang and Wang Chung-san are the two ch'ü-i artists most praised by the Communists.

536 It should be mentioned that the Communists have elevated the social position of actors and actresses from that of "entertainers" to that of "artists." Actors and actresses have their own organizations in the capital and are invited to take part in the deliberation of new policies pertaining to their profession "under the leadership of the Party."

III. ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

532. Painting and the Plastic Arts

When one talks of painting in Communist China one is immediately reminded of Ch'i

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

April 29, 1950, by the Central People's Radio Broadcasting Station.[16] One provision requires the monitors to concentrate on receiving programs such as speeches made by the government leaders, social science lectures delivered by famous scholars, government decrees, news reports, and other items which might help to improve the political and cultural levels of the listener. The second provision decrees that the monitors must report to the responsible radio station their reception work and the reactions of their listeners, so that the station can check on their work as monitors and readjust its programs, if necessary, in the light of the reactions of its audience.

I. The Stage as a Propaganda Medium

The stage is a traditional form of entertainment in China. Operas are understood and enjoyed by both the literate and illiterate and are attended by members of all classes. Having recognized the stage as "an effective instrument for educating the masses with revolutionary spirit and patriotism," the Communists proceeded to make use of local operas for propaganda purposes as soon as they established their guerrilla bases in North China following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Upon

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17. See Article 2 of the Regulations on the Work of Monitors.

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the conquest of North China, the Communists lost no time in organizing so-called "opera reform committees" in various cities of the region, and particularly in Peking, where the famous Peking opera was developed several decades ago. These committees were charged with the task of reforming the local theaters by replacing their "feudalistic," superstitious, and anti-labor themes with those that might help publicize and eulogize the People's dictatorship, the Communist Party, the People's government; awaken the political conscience of the people; stimulate the zeal for production on the part of the people; and praise the new personalities and events of society.

The reform program is a manifold affair. It includes the re-indoctrination of opera performers, the re-organization of repertory teams, and the rewriting of the repertoire. In Peking, opera reform work is directly supervised by the propaganda agencies of the Party and government, and well-known opera performers such as Mei Lan-fang, Ch'eng Yen-ch'iu and T'an Fu-ying are reportedly taking an active part in it. Unlike the experience elsewhere, opera reform work in Peking seems to have been carried out in an orderly manner without unfavorable repercussions.

Besides the above-mentioned reform measures, the Communists in North China have written new operas, trained new per-

208 formers, and promoted the formation of new
536 troupes, both professional and amateur.

In order to link the presentation of operas with tasks of "national reconstruction," the Ministry of Cultural Affairs issued a directive on December 27, 1952 calling upon all professional opera teams to draw up semi-annual or quarterly schedules of performances and to submit these schedules for approval by the local authorities in charge of cultural affairs.[17] Upon issuance of this directive, the Communist regime acquired the instrument of power by which could be determined not only what operas might be presented by the opera teams but when these operas should be presented.

533 Before turning our attention from the
208 stage, the manner in which Communists use
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17. "Chung-yang Wen-hua Pu Kuan-yü Cheng-tun Ho Chia-ch'iang Ch'üan-kuo Chü-t'uan Kung-tso Ti Chih-shih" ["Directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government Concerning the Readjustment and Strengthening of the Work of Opera Teams in the Nation"], People's Daily, Dec. 27, 1952.

PART 5. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER XVI

Yang Ke and Other Recreation

533 536 543 LOCAL TRADITION says that the poet Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101), when he was the magistrate in Ting Hsien, wrote songs for the farmers to sing while they were planting the rice fields watered by the Black and White Dragon Springs, in the northwest part of the hsien. The Chinese name for these songs is yang ke, green sprout or planting songs.

Local tradition does not say, nor does the memory of the oldest inhabitant recall, by what stages the yang ke moved from the rice fields onto the local stage, by what metamorphosis the original simple group songs became plays, with the dialogue generally sung and accompanied by music, nor how the singers changed from blue clad farmers into actors in costume performing for the pleasure and amusement of the people.

Nor does local tradition have an answer for another question: Why are the Ting Hsien yang ke different from those in other parts of the country? In some places they have kept their original character of simple folk songs. The Shanghai yang ke were street dances. In Peking the term was applied to the parade through the streets of actors on three or four foot stilts. There the chief actor, taking the part of a monk, led the procession and cleared a way through the crowd by swinging a long stick in front of him. The other characters were usually a regular fairly standardized group, a bearded man, a woman, a grandmother, a young man, a butterfly girl, a painted face, a stupid boy and his wife, military and civil attendants. The group sang short songs, played on the drums and gongs, made jokes and humorous remarks, and amused the crowd by their actions. In Shantung the yang ke stilt walkers used to be part of the entertainment at the temple fairs.

536 533 In the Experimental District we found five groups of yang ke players. On a proportional basis, this would indicate a total of some 36 groups

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 533 in the hsien. Usually there were 15 or 16 men in a group. This number would include actors, musicians, make up and property men. Most of them were farmers during the growing season and gave the yang ke as amateurs or semi-amateurs for special village celebrations or in connection with the temple fairs. A few of the better actors apparently were paid a salary for their yang ke work. Some of the actors took boys as apprentices and taught them the singing and acting. There evidently was no fixed term for such an apprenticeship. The principal requirement for the boy was that he should be smart, have a good memory, and possess a reasonably good voice. As most of the yang ke players were illiterate, the roles were memorized and handed on from one actor to another. Female parts were all played by men. The costumes were of the type often used in the Chinese theater, but generally were not very elaborate.

536 527 545 New Year's time, especially at the time of the Lantern Festival, the spring and autumn festivals, the temple fairs, and after the harvest were the times when the yang ke were given. If the village had no permanent stage a temporary one was easily and cheaply erected. Sometimes a mat shed, costing about $15, was added to cover the audience, most of whom stood in the open space in front of the stage. No seats were provided, though sometimes carts would be ranked along the side of the mat shed to provide an advantageous position for some of the women spectators.

If the troupe were acting in its own village the cost of the plays was about $10 per day. This would cover the food for the actors and other incidentals. If they were playing in another village they were paid somewhat more. The money to pay for the yang ke was generally raised by assessing the entire village, usually according to the amount of farm land owned. As the plays were generally given for three or four days, sometimes for as long as 10 days, the actors needed a large repertoire.

536 533 Working with the yang ke groups in the Experimental District we were able to record, perhaps for the first time, the texts of 48 plays. These have been published as part of our Chinese report. At the end of the chapter we give the complete dialogue of four plays and the stories of seven more, as samples of the different kinds of plays.

One of the yang ke players was persuaded to make records of the singing of some of the characters in the plays. Samples of four different parts have been transcribed to give an idea of the tunes and tempos.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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It must be remembered that they are sung in the falsetto voice regularly used in Chinese singing.

The stories of the plays can be generally divided into six different types. 1. Boy and girl. 2. Filial piety and chastity. 3. Husband and wife. 4. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. 5. Humorous. 6. Miscellaneous. Our 48 plays were divided boy and girl 11, filial piety and chastity 13, husband and wife 5, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law 4, humorous 6, and miscellaneous 9. The field reports did not say whether these 48 plays represented the entire repertoire of one group of players or whether they were in the repertoire of all the groups.

You do not have two saddles for a good horse; a good woman does not have two husbands; marriage is forever. This philosophy generally prevails in the boy and girl yang ke, but there are some with stories of romantic attachment and elopement. The plays show that the women like to marry men who are students, who will be scholars and can become officials.

Chinese life emphasizes filial piety as a primary obligation. Children must sacrifice themselves and the lives of their children to protect their parents. A filial daughter will sacrifice her honor, if necessary, to get an opportunity to avenge the death of her parents. True filial piety can move heaven and earth, God and the devil. One of the major sins against filial piety is to have no sons to carry on the family line and offer sacrifices to the spirits of the ancestors.

Between husband and wife, the husband is the master. His wife is his property and slave. He can send her away if she has no son, but she cannot leave of her own volition. If she is dismissed her loss of face will prevent her returning to her home, so she will rather persuade her husband to let her stay while he takes a concubine in order to have a son, or she will become a nun. In some cases the wife may be sent away, not by the wish of her husband, but at the order of her mother-in-law. The son sacrifices his wife rather than be unfilial. Some plays show the husband having the power to sell his wife.

When a girl marries she leaves her own family and becomes a member of her husband's family. His mother has complete power over her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law must listen to and submit to her mother-in-law, even before her husband. A daughter-in-law cannot have any freedom or any ideas of her own while her mother-in-law lives. The mother-in-law is inclined never to allow her daughter-in-law to do any-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

thing that she has never done or to enjoy anything she has never enjoyed. As a result a daughter-in-law is generally depicted as hoping that her mother-in-law will die very soon so that she may be mistress of the house. And she wants to treat her daughter-in-law in the same way that she has been treated.

When spirits take on human form and carry on work and romance, when a wife browbeats her husband and forces him to kneel with a brick or a lamp on his head as punishment for gambling, when a donkey driver and his woman passenger discuss affairs, the actors have an opportunity to insert plenty of slap-stick humor and broad jokes.

The miscellaneous group of yang ke included stories about Ting Hsien and stories borrowed from the regular Chinese stage.

The old people said that in the old days the yang ke were much more refined than they were when we studied them, that during the preceding 25 years the tunes, words, and acting had gradually become rougher and more boisterous and more and more popular. In fact, the year before our study the District Bureau of Education tried to suppress the plays on the grounds that they were a social and moral menace, but it could not enforce its prohibition.

Our investigators reported that while there was some vulgarity and considerable sex in the yang ke it was the sort to tickle the crowd and the plays were not, in their opinion, a harmful influence. The opposition to the plays apparently came from the old-fashioned people and the traditional attitudes of the countryside, where even a man and a woman shaking hands was considered to have a sex implication and where it was unheard of for a father to kiss his daughter in public.

The yang ke were very popular and had a large place in the recreational life of Ting Hsien. They were a people's literature, developed by local groups. Traditional stories had been subject to local editing and changes. They were simple enough for all to understand, but with literary quality. They pictured life in the country or life as the country people would like to have it. Life as depicted on the stage represented high society for many of the villagers. Love making on the stage was certainly an emotional release for the crowd.

The yang ke tunes were the popular music of the countryside. They were learned by young and old. We often heard them being sung at night by a belated villager walking through the fields. He would be

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 533 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 369 533 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time, for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 771 782 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read:

Be welcome Divine God
You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
Be merry and happy
No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot.

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

2: Gamble 8-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

536 curtained off as a dressing room. The size of the mat shed put up for the audience varied from village to village. Some that we saw were 30 by 60 feet, others 40 by 80 feet with a ceiling of 20 feet or more. No scenery was used but the actors' costumes were very elaborate.

We did not attempt to determine how many villages gave plays during the year.

Some families engaged troupes of actors to perform for a specially elaborate funeral or birthday celebration.

The Dragon Lantern Show, the Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show, the Warrior Show, the Lion Show were among other New Year's entertainment provided by different community groups, usually during the Feast of Lanterns. The lantern shows were, of course, given at night. There was a musical accompaniment for all of the shows.

The gaily painted dragon, some 30 feet long, was carried through the streets by eight men. There were lanterns on the ends of the poles that the men carried so the light shone through the golden eyes, from the large red mouth, through the white beard of the papier mache head of the dragon, and through the translucent, scale-decorated cloth of the dragon's body. The carriers made the body twist and turn as the dragon made its way through the crowd. A pearl, a large round ball illuminated by an internal lantern, was carried in front of the dragon, always just out of its reach. To the people the illuminated dragon represented their "imagined, dignified, sublime, grand dragon". The men who carried the dragon kept together by following the tempo of the accompanying musicians.

545 The Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Show was given by a group who must have done considerable rehearsing together, for their entertainment involved group maneuvers as well as individual dancing. Each of the performers carried a lighted lantern. They were of many different shapes and sizes and decorated with flowers, birds, butterflies, and characters. Some had popular poems written on them. The four large lanterns that led the procession each had a large carefully written character on it. Together they read "Ch'i Ch'iao Lantern Society". The dancers were dressed in figured clothes and hats. After various individual and group maneuvers, the men came together into two groups and, putting their lanterns together, made the illuminated figure of a fisherman and a farmer.

After finishing in one place the group moved on down the street and went through their dances and maneuvers again and again, keeping up

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

envy and hostility of the Wenchow traders, and suffer insult and injury, we have no adequate means of redress. Mercantile firms, if each looks only after its own interests, will experience disgrace and loss, the natural outcome of isolated and individual resistance. It is this which imposes on us the duty of establishing a club.[1]

In this study some evidence was found that some of the guilds in which membership was formerly confined to those of one district may have originated in this way. The following description given by a representative of the Tailors Guild would bear out this theory:

> This profession, we are told, originated in the South. The tailors who first came to Peking found it very difficult to find a lodging-place; so they called a meeting of their fellow-tradesmen to discuss the difficulty. The first proposal was that one per cent of everyone's salary should be given towards the organization of the guild and the building of a guild headquarters. The fund asked proved insufficient, so customers were asked for contributions. With these funds the Guild House was established during the Ming dynasty.

The Actors, in like manner, originally came from Anhui, and it may be possible that the Actors Club originated in close identity with the Actors Provincial Club, although the available material does not furnish any evidence along this line. The Water Carriers in Peking are almost entirely from Shantung, and the Bankers are invariably from Shansi.

(4) Another explanation of the origin of the guild may be found in the study of the inherent reasons for guild organization present both in contemporary Chinese society and in the ancient social structure. From of old the officials have levied taxes of one kind or another on commercial trans-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Tien Chiao (Heaven Bridge) midway on the principal north-to-south thoroughfare in the Southern City. Both the peddlers of vegetables and the representatives of vegetable stores in Peking meet at this market. Those holding the licenses superintend all the weighing of the products and their sale and receive a commission for their services. Frequently the local store representative will buy on credit. In these cases the collecting of the bill is in the hands of these licensed middlemen, who ask a commission for this service also. Membership in this guild is confined entirely to the men having these licenses. 441*

PROFESSIONAL GUILDS

Actors—*Li Yuan Kung Yi Hui* (Pear Garden Public Welfare Association). 467* 536●

This name has come down from the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618–905) from the time when the famous Emperor Ming Hwang (A. D. 847-860) of that Dynasty was the personal patron of the actors. The Pear Garden is the name of the theatre where they originally played. Members of this guild are the actors of the old-style Chinese plays. In recent years they have given not only the ancient plays but also those of a modern type which in general form correspond to the old-style dramas.

Barbers—*Cheng Jung Hang* (Beautify the Face Guild). 467* 305

Composed of the itinerant barbers of the old style who partially shaved the head and gave a haircut suitable to the wearer of the queues; and also of the modern, Western-style barbers that do their work in the ordinary barber shop.

Blind—*San Hwang Hui* (Three Kings Association). 467*

The Three Kings referred to are the symbolic impersonations of the three primary elements of the ancient